Napoleon's Little Red Book

Maxims of War Thoughts on Society, Politics and the Art of War

Compiled by Lucien Henry

Edited by John McErlean

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MAXIMS OF WAR
THOUGHTS ON SOCIETY, POLITICS AND THE ART OF WAR

Compiled by
Lucien Henry

Edited by
JOHN McERLEAN

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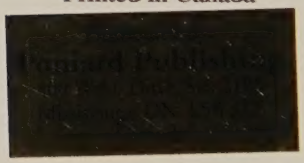

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NAPOLEON'S WAR MAXIMS

WITH HIS

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHTS.

BY

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University of Cambridge and Oxford Union Society,

LATE

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ARMY AND DIPLOMACY TUTOR.

INTRODUCTION

The compiler of this collection of Napoleon's War Maxims and Thoughts on Society and Politics was for period a Professor at the Royal Staff College, Sandhurst. It was this development in his career which inspired him to put together for "officer-students" a handy compendium from which they could learn about Napoleon's ideas and practice. Lucien Henry considered Napoleon "a perfect type as a soldier" and laid particular stress on Napoleon's practicality as a soldier. Not officer-cadets alone might benefit from Henry's compilation. He thought it would be useful to future staff officers and even to "present and future commanders of armies". Napoleon, in his opinion, was "the greatest and most wonderful commander of armies in modern times". The best way to learn military art was through "a careful, thorough and constant study" of "the studendous military operations of Bonaparte." Henry was well aware that great soldiers in the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 had been much influenced by their study of Napoleon. By way of example he cited the words of the victorious Prussian Marshal von Moltke:

"Whoever is well enough acquainted with the campaigns of Napoleon, and familiar enough with them to be able to recall at any moment, the details of his battles, and the movements that he ordered, has always in his hand the key to the movements proper to make under an given circumstance whatever."

Professor Henry did not restrict his collection to military matters alone. He affirmed "that Napoleon's Social and Political Thoughts contain great and useful

lessons too. They show how deep a knowledge of men, their passions, faults and weaknesses, this great soldier and reformer possessed to attain to the height of power where he would have remained but for the treason of a small number of men whom he had overwhelmed with riches and honours."

When he had put together his collection of Napoleon's observations, Professor Henry found that they amounted to a rather short book. Accordingly he expanded it by adding commentaries taken from the writings of other outstanding military writers, notably Frederick the Great, and added to these by giving further examples, as well as notes and explanations. All these have been jettisoned in this version of his collection.

Lucien Henry was a Frenchman. He took pride in the military career of his grandfather who had been decorated by Napoleon under whom he served in twenty-one campaigns. His own father had been a French soldier. He himself had served in the 1er Régiment de Zouaves. Despite this, he lived in England and had qualified as a medical doctor there and studied at the University of Cambridge. It is possible that he found the political regime of the Third Republic of France distasteful. Certainly he made many critical remarks about France in the notes to his compilation of Napoleon's Maxims.Though he admired Napoleon as a soldier, he did not extend this admiration to Napoleon as a political and social leader. As a Royalist, he referred to Napoleon as an Usurper. We learn from his notes that he was a member of the Brotherhood of St. Vincent de Paul. He was highly opinionated and this emerges clearly from his notes and comments on Napoleon. Two centuries after Napoleon's

electrifying Italian campaign of 1796 Lucien Henry's views about the progress of military technology in the nineteenth century no longer seem very interesting. Still less relevant or tolerable today are his views on Cromwell or the Dreyfus affair, while his claims about the nature of the German state as compared to France have been left behind by two world wars. Nor do his views on Englishmen or the policies of Lord Salisbury seem worth preservation. If we can agree with him that "Napoleon did for the material welfare of States what the French Revolution claims to have done for the minds of men", we are less likely to accept his claim that the Emperor "succumbed in proving how impossible despotism is in our day."

The present collection is accordingly reduced to Napoleon's words alone, without explanations or commentaries. This makes possible a compact inexpensive edition, pocket size, handy for commuters. However, in contrast with Prof. Henry's book, detailed indexes have been added so as to make access to particular quotations or ideas easier.

There are other editions of Napoleon's Maxims and other collections of Napoleon's Thoughts on Society and Politics. Some are much larger, but out of print. Some are more scholarly, but do not include the same quotations. Some have helpful commentaries. I should like to think there is room for a handy, pocket-sized edition which makes more easily accessible at all times some of the thoughts of Napoleon. Most are penetrating and repay consideration. All illuminate the mind of the man described by Lucien Henry as "the most gigantic figure of modern times."

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PART I

THOUGHTS ON SOCIETY AND POLITICS

1. Respect will be paid in the day of their humiliation to those who have respected themselves in the day of their power.

2. Ten persons who speak make more noise than 10,000 who are silent; this is the secret of the barkers of the tribune.

3. There should be no half responsibility in the administration, it will only cause peculation and the nonperformance of the laws.

4. In the world it is not faith that serves, it is mistrust.

5.In business there should be neither prejudice nor passion except for the public good.

6. Ambition to sway other minds is one of the strongest of passions.

7. Ambition is to man what air is to nature; take the one from his moral and the other from his physical principles, and he will cease to move.

8.Strong minds repel pleasure, as a sailor avoids rocks.

9. When we know that we are suffering from a moral disease we must take care of our soul, as we would of an arm or leg.

10.The power of thought appears to be an attribute of the will; the greater the perfection of reason, the greater is that of the soul, and the greater the responsibility for its actions.

11. An enemy is more anxious to hurt, than a friend to help.

12. Would you count your friends, fall into misfortune.

13. Love is a business to the idle man, a destruction to the warrior, and a rock to a Sovereign.

14. The only victory in love is flight.

15. It is indecision and anarchy in the contriver which cause indecision and anarchy as the results.

16. Anarchy is the stepping stone to absolute power.

17.The yoke of the English is relished by no nation. All suffer with impatience the dominations of these islanders.

18. Englishmen despise all other peoples and especially the French. That nation barters as freely master-pieces of art, as the liberty and prosperity of other peoples.

19. It is by money that we must secure lovers of money.

20. A State without an aristocracy, is a vessel without a rudder, a balloon in the air.

21. A democracy may be furious, but it has a heart, it can be moved ; an aristocracy is always cold and it never pardons.

22. We may stop ourselves when going up, never when coming down.

23. The Sciences which do honour to human mind, the Arts which beautify life, and transmit great deeds to posterity, ought to be specially honoured by Free Governments.

24. Audacity may undertake everything, but not do it.

25.It is a sound principle to make frequent changes in Officers and garrisons ; the good of the State demands that there should be no situations immovable.

26. Man may perhaps calculate a few, often deceitful, probabilities, but the future is in the hands of God.

27. When it is sought to make a policy law, the lawyers always oppose of it.

28. Anything not founded on bases physically and mathematically exact, should be banned by the reason.

29. If you want a thing done well, do it yourself.

30. True social happiness lies in the regularity and harmony of one's enjoyments, and suitability to each other.

31. Those who seek for happiness in pomp and dissipation resemble those people who prefer the waxlights to the light of the sun.

32. Good sense makes men capable ; self-love is the wind which swells the sails, and brings their vessels into harbour.

33. Gallantry is inborn, not instilled.

34. A great reputation is a great noise, the more there is of it, the further does it swell. Land, Monuments, Nations, all fall, but the noise remains, and will reach to other generations.

35. It is only with prudence, wisdom, and much dexterity, that we can attain great ends and surmount all obstacles, otherwise no success.

36. Everything in life is a subject of calculation; we must hold the balance between the good and the bad.

37. It is always vile and dishonouring to calumniate the unfortunate.

38. In administration as in war, character is essential to success.

39. A constitution is of use when acted upon only; the Chief of the State should not be a partisan.

40. Civilization does everything for the mind and favours it entirely at the expense of the body.

41. In all centuries and States, circumstances have called for extraordinary laws.

42. The code of the safety of nations is not always that of private men.

43. Nothing so good in the world as a good heart.

44. Commerce unites men and makes them, therefore is it fatal to despotic power.

45. Our conduct may be shaped on reason and calculation.

46. Genuine victories and the sole conquest yielding no remorse are those over ignorance.

47. True conquests, ones leaving no regret behind, are those made over ignorance.

48. A constitution supported by an aristocracy resembles a ship. One without is a balloon lost in the air. A ship can be directed because there are two forces to balance one another; the rudder forms a point of support, but the balloon is a toy of one single force, the point of support

is wanting, the wind carries it away, and direction is impossible.

49. It is a great mistake at Court not to push oneself forward.

50. That unshakeable courage which, in spite of most sudden catastrophes, leaves the mind, judgment and power of decision as free as before, is indeed rare.

51. Practised prostitutes despise the idol they seem to adore, and are always ready to break it.

52. If in a nation, crimes or delicts increase, it is a proof that misery is increasing, that the society is ill governed.

53. The contagion of crime is like that of the plague; criminals being associated together, corrupt one another ; they are more hardened than ever, when after the expiry of their sentence, they emerge once more into society.

54. All transaction with crime, becomes a crime on the part of a Crown.

55. Ceremonies are to religion what external garments are to men in power.

56. Cynical manners are the ruin of the body politic.

57. Nothing is more difficult, and therefore more precious, than to be able to decide.

58. Declamations pass away, but nations remain.

59. The great proof of madness is the disproportion of one's designs to one's means.

60. An enlightened nation is not to be governed by half measures; there must be force, consistency, and unity in all the public acts.

61. A man may lose his popularity for a slight fault. As for a "coup d'état," when he knows the way to rule he will not risk his credit but on good security.

62. Despotism, though transferred from the hands of the ruler to those of the ruled, is none less despotism.

63. Republican despotism is more fertile in acts of tyranny, because everyone has a hand in it.

64. Drawing and the exact sciences gives correctness to the mind. Drawing teaches one to see, and mathematics to think.

65. The first of virtues is devotion to one's country.

66. Under a Master in political life, to talk of the rights of the people, is a criminal blasphemy.

67. With the old edicts of Chilperic and Pharamond, there is no one who can say that he is exempt from being legally hanged.

68. The Church should be a part of the State, but not the State of the Church.

69. It is in times of difficulty that great nations, like great men, display the whole energy of their character and become an object of admiration to posterity.

70. Prison, blood, death, create enthusiasts and martyrs, and bring forth courage and desperate resolution.

71. In all our designs we must assign two-thirds to reason, one-third to chance. Increase the first fraction, you will be over cautious ; increase the second, you will be rash.

72. When honours are thrown away lavishly many will get them who are unworthy of them, and more will be in the shade. They will not go and seek for the Knighthood on the field of battle, when they can get it in an Office.

73. Political balance of war is a dream.

74. The human mind has made three important conquests: the jury, equality of taxation, and liberty of conscience.

75. When the wit sparkles and the passions speak, reason and judgment go to sleep.

76. He who cares not for the esteem of his fellow citizens is unworthy of it.

77. Public esteem is the reward for good people.

78. Constitutional States have no springs, the action of the government is too trammelled ; this it is which makes them inferior in their struggles with powerful and absolute neighbours. A dictatorship might help them, but the ram is at the door of the Capitol before they are ready.

79. There are events of such a nature that they are above the human organization.

80.The true wisdom of nations is experience.

81. Every faction is an aggregate of dupes and duped.

82. A man is weak because of want of exertive power or of self-confidence, when he is so for both these reasons; if he is but a private man, he will never be much ; if he is a king he will be lost.

83. Weakness in the supreme power is the most frightful calamity for peoples.

84. We must recognize human weaknesses, and bend to rather than combat them.

85. Nothing is more imperious than weakness supported by force.

86. Fanaticism is always the product of persecution.

87. In mind under the influence of fanaticism there is no outlet by which reason can enter.

88. Of 100 royal favourites, 95 are not worth hanging.

89. It is a woman's lot to soften our crosses.

90. A beautiful woman delights the eyes, a good one the head ; the former is a jewel, the latter is a heart treasure.

91. In finance, the best way to obtain credit, is not to make use of it; taxation strengthens it, borrowing destroys it.

92. Finances founded on good agricultural prospects will never be destroyed.

93. Flattery is a mark of a government weak in mind or power of ruling, just as the seditious call despotism a strong will.

94. Flatterers are legion, and not one of them can flatter in a noble and decent way.

95. Fashion condemns us to many follies; the greatest is to make oneself its slave.

96. The follies of another will never make us wise.

97. Force is always force, enthusiasm always the same, but persuasion remains and engraves itself on the heart.

98. The surest lever to power is a military force sanctioned by law, and at the command of talent. Such

was the conscription. It is enough to consider this force, contradictions will be effaced, power strengthened. What matters, after all, the reason of sophistry, when there is a strong ruler? Those who obey are compelled to confine themselves to the line of the order law lays down for them. At length they grow accustomed to the yoke, draw the sword, and the factions return to their native dust.

99. Machiavel talks in vain, fortresses are not worth the favour of a people.

100. We must follow fortune in its caprices, and correct it as we can.

101. The French will be worth their full price when they substitute principles for turbulence, pride for vanity, and love of institutions for love of places.

102.With all our expansion and mobility, why are French people always complaining?

103. Our ridiculous national fault is to have no greater enemies to our success and glory than ourselves.

104. Babbling is a national characteristic of the French since the days of the Gauls.

105. The Frenchman, by nature, is active, restless, and a babbler.

106. The sentiment of national honour is never more than dosing with Frenchmen ; but a spark is needed to light it.

107. The French love greatness even when it is but a show.

108. French people have two equally powerful passions which appear opposed, and which, however, arise from the same temperament: love of equality and love of honours. A government cannot satisfy these two wants except by strict justice. The law and the action of the government should be equal to all ; honours and rewards should fall on men who appear in the eyes of all to deserve them the most.

109. The French nation is easiest to govern when it is smoothed down the right way. Nothing equals its prompt and easy comprehension; it finds out at once those who are working for or against it. We must appeal to its senses, otherwise it is gnawed by a restless spirit, boils over, and is carried away.

110. France is a country where chiefs have little influence; to depend upon them is to build upon sand. Great things cannot be done in France without the support of the masses; besides, a government should seek its support from the right quarters. There are moral laws as imperative as physical ones.

111. Coolness is the grand quality for a commander.

112. Talent will not guarantee one from the miseries of life.

113. Nature should bestow its gift of talent so that it may be of use to the dunce; but often talent is out of place, and like a seed which is stifled in its growth and produces nothing.

114. Bold men should not be sought for from those who have anything to lose.

115. Some people keep straight because they have not had the opportunity to go wrong.

116. There are men who are over-obliging, as some are always insulting. We must be neither one or the other; for in either case the reason of their good deeds will be criticised.

117. The caprices and passions of the governing body, being once enchained, the interests of the people march without hindrance in their natural path.

118. Men are more easily governed through their vices than through their virtues.

119. In matters of government partners are needed, otherwise the play will not be done through.

120. Governments with balanced force are of no good but in times of peace.

121. At bottom the name and form of the government is but of little moment provided that justice is rendered to all

the citizens, that they are equal before the law, and the State is well governed.

122. Every government should not view men but as a whole.

123. It is the conjunction of interests which constitutes the true strength of a government, for to combat them is to expose oneself to certain death.

124. A government which is composed of natives, and maintains itself without the aid of the foreigner, is a National Government.

125. Property, civil war, love of country, are the ties of every government.

126. A ruler, at bottom, must be a soldier; a horse is not ruled without boots and spurs.

127. To rule one must govern with head and not with heart.

128. It is difficult to rule, if we wish to do so conscientiously.

129. Nineteen-twentieths of those who rule do not believe in moral inferences; but they deem it their interest that people should be persuaded that they make a good use of their power. Thereby alone they are called honourable.

130. That they should be truly free, the governed should

be wise men, and the rulers gods.

131.The greater a man becomes, the less will should he display; the more dependent is he on events and circumstances.

132. There is nothing beautiful but what is great; extent and immensity may cause defects to be pardoned.

133. It is never useful to make oneself hated and arouse hatred.

134. Chance is the only lawful monarch of the universe.

135. Men must be led by their present bridles, and not by their future ones.

136. Men sunk in degradation are never conspirators.

137. In the eyes of founders of great empires, men are not men, but instruments.

138. The great man is he who is by nature unimpressionable; praise or blame will affect him but little; it is his conscience he listens to.

139. To become a good man, one must have faithful friends, or outright enemies.

140. Men fashion themselves after circumstances.

141. How many great men are children more than once a day.

142. A man never distinguishes himself in life, but by controlling his natural character, or by creating a new one, and being able to modify it according to circumstances.

143. One does a bad deed who is an honest man at bottom, another commits a wicked act, without being a wicked man. Man never indeed acts by the natural bent of his character, but by a secret passion of the incident hidden in the innermost recesses of his heart.

144. The man, who is really a man, never has an enduring hatred; his anger and ill-will never last more than the moment.

145. A man in authority should never look at persons, but at things, their weight and consequences.

146. Man is no safer at the edge of a rock, than under the canopies of a palace. He is a man everywhere.

147.Man is a difficult being to know; in order not to be deceived, we must judge him by his actions, and especially those of a moment and which last but a moment.

148. Men have their virtues and their vices, they are heroes to-day and cowards to-morrow; they are not all good or all bad altogether ; but they possess in them, and make use of all that is good or bad here below ; that is the fundamental principle. Nature, education, and accidents are its applications. Beyond that, it is all spurious systems, all wrong more or less in this world.

149. All men are equal before God: Wisdom, talent, and virtues alone make differences between them.

150. Men must be led by an iron hand in a velvet glove.

151. Miserable men that we are! Weakness and error, that is our motto. We can do nothing against the nature of things, our own remaining power is to observe.

152. No man can rise high enough to get out of reach of the blows of fate.

153. Men are ciphers and acquire value by their position.

154. Men, like pictures, need to be shown in a good light.

155. A disheartened man is undecided, because all courses seem to him bad in the affairs of life; the worst evil is indecision.

156. Man is sheep-like, he follows the first passerby.

157. Do not believe a man's words unless his actions prove them.

158. In no society can man pass as good and just, if he knows not whence he comes and whither he is going.

159. Men as a rule make more use of their memory than of their judgment.

160. The heart of a statesman should be in his head.

161. The surest support of man is God.

162. Opportunities are often less wanting to a man than perseverance and will.

163. Nothing which degrades a man can be useful.

164. Men are pleased to be wonder-struck.

165.The man who allows himself to be governed by his wife, is neither himself nor his wife; he is nothing.

166. There is nothing worse than a good man in political crisis, when his mind is fascinated by false ideas.

167. Nations and parties as a whole are more fruitful than they think to the sentiment of honour, to glory, and national independence.

168. Those who seek for honour resemble a man in love, possession diminishes its value.

169. All the details of life should be submitted to its rule; to be able to overcome one's ill-temper.

170. There is nothing purely ideal which has not some atom of the positive, and false seed by careful management produces good fruit.

171. He who can carry in his mind most images, is one gifted highly with powers of imagination.

172. Immorality is indubitably the most disastrous failing for a ruler, in that he makes it a fashion, for to please him, people will give it a good name, it strengthens all other vices, it saps all virtue, it is the curse of a nation. Public morality, on the contrary, is the natural complement of all laws ; it is in itself a whole code.

173. Since the discovery of printing, knowledge has been called to power, and power has been used to make it a slave.

174. Indecision in a prince is to government what paralysis is to the motion of the members.

175. True industry is not to execute by the use of all the means given and known; it shows talent and genius to do in spite of one's faculties, and to find thereby nothing impossible or next to it.

176. A healthy mind braves misfortune, and displays noble courage in resisting it.

177. Men are powerless to secure the future; institutions alone fix the destinies of people.

178. The best institutions become vicious when morality ceases to be their basis, and when their officers are but led by egotism, pride, and insolence.

179. Their interest which turns men from pole to pole is a language which they learnt without its grammar.

180. The most astonishing of inventions are not those of which the human mind may be proud; it is to a mechanical instinct and to chance, that we owe the majority of our discoveries, and never to philosophy.

181. The just man is the image of God on earth.

182. Without justice there are but parties, oppressions, and victims.

183. In matters of government, justice means force as well as virtue.

184. Justice depends on the public order. The judges are on the top-most rung of the social ladder, they could not be surrounded by too much honour and consideration.

185. Legislation is a buckler which Government should bear wherever the public prosperity is attacked.

186. Certain things are called legitimate because they are old.

187. Political liberty is indeed a fable drawn up and imagined to quiet the governed.

188.The law should be clear, precise, and uniform; to interpret it is to corrupt it.

189. What is called natural law is but that of interest and reason.

190. Laws in theory a model of clearness, become often chaos when applied.

191. All the evils and plagues which may affect men come from London.

192. To discharge the duties of a Magistrate needs the most profound respect, and the most absolute devotion to the great interests of the State.

193. The power of magistrates is weakened when they live on familiar terms with the advocates of the prisoners they are to judge.

194. Everyone is not master in his own house.

195. A man can suffer from having eaten too much; never of having eaten too little.

196.When the community, as a whole, is corrupted, laws are almost useless without a despotism.

197. The men who have changed the universe have never done so by changing the chiefs, but by stirring the masses.

198. Vengeance visited on the bad is a reparation to virtue.

199. The poor man commands respect; the beggar must always excite anger.

200. It would be a curious book which contained no lies.

201. It is wrong to grant to a name the prerogatives which are due only to merit.

202. Merit is pardoned, not intrigue.

203. The strength of ministers of religion consists in the exhortations of the pulpit and in confession.

204. Ministers of religion should never meddle in civil matters; they should always bear the mark of their character, which, according to the spirit of the gospel, ought to be one of peace, toleration, and conciliation.

205. Moderation gives dignity to governments as well as to nations. It is always the companion of the strength and durability of social institutions.

206. Wisdom and moderation are of all countries and ages; but they are as absolutely necessary to little states as to commercial towns.

207. Republics cannot be made out of old monarchies.

208. The world is a great comedy, where you find 100, 000 Tartufes for one Moliere.

209. Old replastered monarchies last only till the people feel its own strength; such edifices perish always from their foundations.

210. In morality alone is true nobility, if not there it is nowhere.

211. Public morality is founded on justice, which, far from excluding energy, has proved to be the grand result of it.

212. The laws of morality are conjectured, like those of ontology. It is therefore the characteristic of a higher mind.

213. Life is strewn with so many snares, and may be the source of so many ills, that death is not the greatest of them.

214. Death is a dreamless sleep.

215. Among the persons who seek for death there are few who find it when it would be a boon to them.

216. The noblest death is that of a soldier dying on the field of honour, if the death of a judge, perishing in defence of his Sovereign, throne, and laws, were not more glorious still.

217. Calculation is good when there is a choice of means, and it is boldness which will carry the day otherwise.

218. Of all the liberal arts music has the most influence over the passions. The legislator should, therefore, encourage it. The chorus of a song produces a more affecting effect than a moral treatise.

219. To divide the interest of a nation is to injure them all. It is impossible to divide things naturally indivisible.

220. When it comes to pass that a certain class have gained the power of suing for lucrative posts, a nation has lost true freedom, nobility, and dignity of character.

221. Poor Nations! Despite your knowledge of wisdom you are still in submission to the caprices of fashion, just like ordinary private people.

222. They who think that nations are flocks who belong by Divine right to certain families, are opposed to the spirit, both of the age and of the gospel.

223. The law of necessity subdues the inclination, will, and reason.

224. Neutrality consists in having the same weights and measures for each.

225. Oligarchies never change their opinions, because their interests are always the same.

226. The Church ointment, though it attaches us to the Kingdom of Heaven, does not deliver us from the infirmities of the world, its villainy and abominations.

227. Public opinion is a power invisible, mysterious, and irresistible.

228. All becomes easy when we follow the current of opinion; it is the ruler of the world.

229. Nothing is more fickle and vague than public opinion, and yet, whimsical as it is, it is trustworthy, reasonable, and just more often than one thinks.

230. Public opinion ought to be the thermometer a Sovereign should frequently consult.

231. Among those who like not oppression, are many who like to oppress.

232. The great orators who charm assemblies by the brilliancy of their words are, in general, but second-statesmen. It is no use to fight them with words; theirs will always be more sonorous; their eloquence must be met with clear logical reasoning, their power lies in vagueness; bring them back to the reality of facts, to the practical, and they will be crushed.

233. Without order the administration will be in a chaos, no finances, no public credit, and with the fortunes of the State the fortunes of individuals will also crumble away.

234. The sphere of materialism is extremely limited, truth must be sought for in morality, if one would sound the depths of policy and war.

235. The social order of a nation depends on the choice of the men who are to keep it up.

236. Order marches with weighty and measured strides, disorder is always in a hurry.

237. Paradise is a centre whither the souls of all men are proceeding; each sect in its particular road.

238. To be deprived of one's natal chamber, of the garden where one's infant feet have pattered, is to have lost one's country.

239. Forgiveness will raise a man above one who insults him.

240. Love of country is the first virtue of the civilized man.

241. One's country cannot shift about ; it is immovable and is wholly on the sacred soil which has given us birth, and where the bones of our fathers rest.

242. The surest way to remain poor is to be an honest man.

243. A fool is only troublesome, a pedant insupportable.

244. People who are masters in their own house are never tyrants; that is why a king who knows not contradiction is a good king.

245. Perversity is always individual, hardly ever collective.

246. The rights of the chief are only those of the people. The right of the people is to submit itself to the laws.

247. A people which abandons itself to excess, is unworthy of freedom; a free people is one which respects persons and property.

248. The people's judgment is sound when it is not led away by agitators.

249. There is nothing but patience for people when it has fallen under the yoke of a great slavery, their instinct will warn them of the circumstances which may deliver them.

250. A people have no strength but in nationality.

251. When people cease to complain, they cease to think.

252. People recover from every reverse, except that of consenting to their dishonour.

253. It is only those who would deceive a people and rule them for their own profit, who would keep them in ignorance.

254. The best philosophy is to gain happiness by the practice of right.

255. Love of place is the greatest blow to the morality of a nation.

256. When a man has an absolute want of a situation, he is already "sold" in advance.

257. The requisites of a good police officer are a want of passion and prejudice, patience in hearing and judging, never deciding without having given reason time to recover.

258. Absolute power has no need of a lie; it is silent. Responsible Government obliged to speak acts and lies shamelessly.

259. All becomes easy to power, when it wishes to direct in the ways of justice, honour and joy around.

260. From lawyers, it is not easy to get simplicity.

261. Bad priests insinuate their fraud and lying everywhere.

262. A good prince should have the deportment of Caesar, the manners of Julian, and the virtues of Marcus Aurelius.

263. A Prince is despised, when he is weak and irresolute; it is much worse when he is governed by an incompetent or inconsiderate minister.

264. Princes who have confessors are a contradiction to Royalty.

265. It is by wounding the self love of princes, that influence is gained over their deliberations.

266. Vulgar Sovereigns are never despots with impunity.

267. The ancients conciliated men of various conditions; we separate them most distinctly.

268. Reason, logic, a definite result first, should be the guide and aim in all sublimary matters.

269. Without the Bible, we are marching in darkness. The Catholic religion is the only one which gives man safe knowledge as to his beginning and last end.

270. Let dogmatic controversies never do harm to the sentiments which religion inspires and commands.

271. If a Government needs for its stability a dominant Church, it will reject a dominating Church.

272. To ask how far religion is necessary for the State, is to ask when to tap a sufferer from dropsy.

273. Religion is the reign of the soul, it is hope, it is the anchor to save us from misfortune, it is the ministry of morality, right principles and good manners.

274. Policemen and gaols are not the ways to bring back to the practices of religion.

275. It is easier to establish a republic without anarchy than a monarchy without despotism.

276. There can be no republic in France; the bona fide Republicans are idiots, the others intriguers.

277. In every well regulated household, we ought to expend but the one fourth of one's income for the kitchen, the one fifth for the stables, and the one ninth for the dwelling.

278. Jealousy is the characteristic of popular risings; equality of interests commences them, concurrence of passions continues them, and often they end by civil wars between the insurgents themselves.

279. Never is there a social revolution without a terror. The best of them destroy everything there and on, but replaces them in the future.

280. In a revolution everything is forgotten. The good you have done to-day will be forgotten to-morrow. The face of things once changed, gratitude, friendship, relationship, all ties are broken, and each one seeks his own interest.

281. A revolution is one of the greatest curses which can fall on a land. It is the scourge of the generation which effects it; all the advantages it can procure cannot make

good the trouble with which it has filled the lives of its authors. It enriches the poor who are not satisfied; it overturns everything. In its first moments it makes its misfortunes for all, the happiness of none.

282. In revolutions there are two kinds of people: those who make them, and those who profit by them.

283. He who prefers riches to glory is a spendthrift who borrows at usury and who ruins himself in interest.

284. Riches do not consist in the possession of treasures, but in the use made of them.

285. The true wealth of a state consists in the number of its inhabitants, in their toil and industry.

286. Riches are not the usual lot of the soldier, and of the judge who must be indemnified by having consideration and respect. The regard shown them keeps up the point of honour which is the true strength of a nation.

287. A king cannot afford to give in before misfortune.

288. A king should be above the worst blows of misfortune.

289. A king is not a king of nature, but of civilization; he must march at its head, he is never naked, but must ever be clothed.

290. It is the weak or wicked king who associates himself with the vulgar passions of his inferiors when he should be repressing them.

291. Kings only love people who are of use to them, and only as long as they are so.

292. Kings only show attachment for the benefits they confer, and never for the services rendered to them; and that because in the first case, they love their creatures, and in the second their self-love revolts at the thought of their being the obliged; for it is always placing oneself in an inferior position, to feel obliged to anyone.

293. The overthrow of prejudices has laid bare the source of power; kings and princes cannot help getting crafty.

294. The Ribbon of an Order is a stronger bond than chains of gold.

295. Ribbons may adorn courtiers but not men.

296. If science were taken in hand by power, it would produce great results for the well-being of society.

297. Severity prevents more crimes than it represses.

298. The fool has one great advantage over the learned man, he ever feels in a state of quiet peace with himself.

299. The observations of a fool teach us the degree of simplicity to which we must descend to be understood by all.

300. One may be a fool with wit, but not with judgment.

301. The Sovereign has but one duty to discharge to the State: to get the law observed.

302. A weak Sovereign is a calamity for his people.

303. The Sovereign is always wrong to speak in anger.

304. A Sovereign should only promise what he can perform.

305. The honour, glory, and happiness of a Sovereign can never be other than the honour, glory and safety of the people.

306. The aim of a Sovereign is not only to reign, but to spread instruction, morality, well-being. All that is false is poor help.

307. A Sovereign never avoids war when he likes; but when he is forced to fight, he should hasten and draw the sword himself, and be the first to make a quick invasion, without which all the advantage is on the side of the aggressor.

308. Sovereignty cannot travel; it is inseparable from the territory, and remains bound up with the mass of the citizens.

309. Sovereignty should always display itself in full vigour; granting petitions, and ever above petty human infirmities.

310. It is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.

311. Success makes the great man.

312. Suicide is the act of a gambler who has lost his all; or of a ruined prodigal.

313. Suicide is the greatest of crimes. What courage can he have who trembles before a reverse of fortune? True heroism consists in being superior to the evils of life.

314. As a matter of system, one ought to reserve to oneself the right of laughing over one's ideas the day after they have occurred.

315. A political system cannot go on in which words clash with deeds.

316. Rashness succeeds often, still more often fails.

317. There is one kind of robber whom the law does not strike at, and who steals what is most precious to men, ie., time.

318. A head without memory is a place without a garrison.

319. Is not theology reserved for Heaven? Why here below make God the subject of our discussions?

320. Theology in religion is what poisons are in food.

321. Toleration is one of the first rights of man. It is the first maxim of the gospel, since it is the first attribute of charity.

322. To make use one day of a party, to attack it the next, whatever the pretext with which we may shield ourselves, is to betray it.

323. A country like France can, and ought to, have a few houses for mad people, and call them trappists.*

324. God has placed work as the sentinel over virtue practising.

325. Odd people should never be controlled, providing they be harmless.

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*Trappists are an old order of monks, originally called "Cistercians" (from Cîteaux, a monastery not far from Dijon), and Trappists from Trappe (la), a famous Abbey, founded in 1140, near Mortagne (Orne), reformed by Abbot de Rancé (1662), and whose monks kept the pledge of perpetual silence.

326. A throne is but a board covered in velvet.

327. Courage strengthens a throne, cowardice and infamy overthrow it ; it is better to abdicate.

328. In times of trouble, all reason -- even the reason of policy, the least indispensable -- seems to become obscured with the destiny of the country.

329. The most insupportable of tyrannies is that of inferiors.

330. Unity, good arrangements, and method, are the conditions without which, in architecture as in more important business, nothing can be fine or imposing.

331. The inevitable end of multiplied heads is to fade and to disappear for want of oneness.

332. We often get in quicker by the back door than by the front.

333. No political resolution is without excessive popular vengeance, when by any cause whatsoever the masses take a part in it.

334. Vices are necessary to the state of society, like storms to the atmosphere. If equilibrium is broken between good and evil, harmony ceases, and there is a revolution.

335. He who practices right, but in the hope of acquiring

a great renown, is very near to vice.

336. There are vices and virtues which are only so by circumstances.

337. Victory is always to be praised, whether our luck or skill has lead us to it.

338. It is when leaving life, that we cling most to it.

339. Home life is the security of a good house; it assures the good name of the wife, the reliance of the husband, and keeps up friendliness and good manners.

340. The life of a happy man is a picture with a silver ground and some black stars. The life of an unhappy man is like a picture with a black ground and some gold stars.

341. The private life of a man is the reflector in which we read and gain useful information.

342. Old men, who preserve the tastes of their youth, lose in consideration what they gain in ridicule.

343. The herd seek out the great, not for their sake, but for their influence ; and the latter welcome them out of vanity or need.

344. The herd measures the influence of a courtier by the number of his lacqueys ; it judges the power of God by that of His priests.

PART II

THOUGHTS RELATIVE TO THE ART OF WAR

1. The mind of a good general should resemble in clearness the glass of a telescope, which has been under the grinding stone, and presents pictures to the eye.

2. Generals make their name by victories or great deaths.

3. Nothing inspires more courage, and clears one's ideas more than to know the position of the foe.

4. War is like government, a business of tact.

5. The tactics of war should be changed every ten years, to retain its superiority.

6. The fate of a battle is the result of an instant of thought; the armies approach with various combination, join battle, fight for a certain time, the decisive moment arrives, one moral spark gives the word and the smallest reserve carries it out.

7. In all battles, a moment always arrives when the bravest soldiers, after having made the greatest efforts, feel disposed to fly. This terror arises from a want of confidence in their courage; it needs but a trivial occasion, or pretext to restore this confidence; the great thing is to arouse it.

8. There is a moment in all fights, when the most petty manoeuvre decides the day, and gives success. It is the drop of water which makes the overflow.

9. There are several ways of occupying a given position, with the same army; the soldier's eye, the experience and the talent of the chief, will make the decision ; that is his chief office.

10. It is necessary in war to profit by every occasion, for fortune is a woman; if you let her slip to-day, do not expect to find her to-morrow.

11. Not to be surprised at not obtaining victory, think only of defeat.

12. It is an axiom, people being credulous as they are, when an enemy obtains reinforcements, to receive some also, so that the belief of equality may be maintained.

13. Success in war depends on a glance and a right moment.

14. Being inured to fighting, having superiority in tactics, and coolness in command, alone make victorious.

15. Kind and gentle behaviour befit the victor alone, but are a dishonour to the conquered, whose qualities should be reserve and pride.

16. It is with States as with a ship at sea, or an army, coolness, moderation, wisdom, reason, are needed in the conception of order, commands, or laws; energy and vigour in their execution.

17. In war as in policy, every evil, even when partly done, is only excusable when absolutely necessary ; anything more than that is a crime.

18. In war as in policy, the lost moment never returns.

19. Military fanaticism is alone good for any-thing; a man needs some of it to risk his life.

20. The first qualities of a soldier are fortitude and discipline; courage but the second.

21. A soldier follows the fortunes or misfortunes of his general, his honour, and religion.

22. A soldier should know how to overcome dejection and melancholy. It is as true a courage to meet with constancy the pain of the soul, as to meet without flinching the fire of a battery. To abandon oneself to grief without resisting it, is to go and kill in order to get rid of it.

23. The vigorous rules of military discipline are necessary to guarantee the army from defeat, slaughter, and especially dishonour. It must look on dishonour as worse than death. A nation can recover men, but not honour.

24. Military crimes should be judged with promptitude and severity.

25. The true reward of armies is the good opinion of their fellow citizens.

26.There is nothing great of which a Frenchman is not capable. The love of glory is for him a sixth sense.

27. In the siege, as on the field, it is the cannon which plays the principal part.

28. Nothing is more destructive than the charge of artillery on a crowd. We can avoid one or two bullets, but it is almost impossible to escape 18 or 20.

29. Not to be afraid to die, is itself a terror to the enemy's ranks.

30. Armies are not enough to save a nation, while a nation defended by the people is invincible.

31. Revolutions are a fine time for soldiers of mind and courage.

32. It is always in times of trouble, and especially after a victory of the people, that there are born the elements of a national force, which becomes the army called on to save a country.

33. When once the torches of a civil war are lit, military chiefs are not the makers of victory; it is the crowd that governs.

34. In civil war it is not given to every man to know what to do; it needs something more than military prudence; it needs wisdom and the knowledge of men.

35. In party warfare he who is vanquished once is disheartened for a long time ; so it is especially in civil war that fortune is necessary.

36. In certain circumstances military qualities are of avail only ; civil virtues exert perpetual influence on the public happiness.

37. Laurels are no longer so when covered with the blood of citizens.

38. Military, public, or administrative business, demands strong powers of thought and analysis, and the ability of concentrating mind on a point without fatigue.

39. Conquered peoples do not become subjects of the victor except by a mixture of policy and severity, and by their amalgamation with the army.

40. The ground is the general's board, and its choice will testify to his skill or ignorance.

41. Every party chief should know how to use enthusiasm; there is no faction without its fanatics. The

greatest general, with soldiers without enthusiasm, is but a fool.

42. One is rarely supported by one's inferiors except when they know you are inflexible.

43. A state will never get capable officers but by a careful education, and by protecting the sciences applicable to military or naval war, to the arts, to agriculture, to the preservation of the human beings.

44. A battle is a dramatic action, which has its beginning, middle, and end. The order of battle taken by the two armies, their first advances to meet one another, are the prologue ; and the counter-movements of the attacked army forms the knot which renders new dispositions necessary, and brings about the crisis, whence arises the result or catastrophe.

45. True courage and warlike talent are never amazed at anything, and will not falter before any kind of hardship.

46. The general who does great deeds is he who possesses at once civil qualities, a good eye, calculation, mind, administrative knowledge, eloquence, not of a lawyer, but suitable to the leader of armies, and lastly, the knowledge of men.

47. The important secret of war is to make oneself master of the communications.

48. A general in war should know but three things ; to march 10 leagues a day, fight, and canton afterwards.

49. In war every movement should aim at gaining a good position.

50. Military genius is a gift from Heaven ; but the most essential quality of a general is firmness of character, and a resolve to conquer at any price.

51. In mountain warfare an army should never attack, but wait to be attacked ; vice versa on the plains.

52. Battles should never be engaged unless you can calculate on 70 favourable chances. Battle even should not be delivered unless there is nothing else to hope for, since by its nature, the fate of a battle is always doubtful; but once it is determined on, there is nothing but to conquer or to die.

53. It is on the care given to the battalions in depôt that the quality and durability of an army depend.

54. Every army on its first trial bears, with difficulty, the tests to which it is exposed, and if it has, besides, a long march to make, it grows less in proportion to the distance.

55. With a raw army it is possible to carry a formidable position, but not to carry out a plan or design.

56. In war prudence advises to prize the foe at its just worth, and more than he deserves if you do not know his strength.

57. The qualities suited to offensive warfare are activity, audacity, and a good eye, also intelligence and resolution.

58. Soldiers who are resolved to die, may always save their honour, and often their liberty and life.

59. A retreating army should have a little start in order to sleep and eat. It should not have the enemy too near; for to suffer an attack when on the march, and with back turned, is a most dangerous way of receiving battle. The wisest thing then is to choose its own ground and wait battle.

60. No river, or any line whatever, can be defended without having offensive points, for when we have made arrangements only for defence, we run risk without obtaining security. But one may combine defence with an offensive move; we make the enemy run more risk; but also greater losses can be inflicted on the body which has been attacked.

61. In war nothing is got but by calculation ; anything not thought out in all its details effects no result.

62. The whole art of war consists in a well ordered and prudent defensive, and in a bold and rapid offensive.

63. All is opinion in war, opinion of the enemy, opinion of one's troops.

64. After the loss of a battle, the difference between conqueror and conquered is but a petty one: it is the moral influence which is everything, since two or three columns are sufficient then to produce a great effect.

65. In war one needs healthy and precise ideas.

66. The art of war has principles which it is never permitted to violate.

67. In war we take our course before the enemy; we have night always in which to get ready.

68. In war all is mental, and the mind and opinion make up more than the half of reality.

69. A great general has made it a point to make the enemy think his troops very numerous, and impress upon his own men that the enemy were very inferior.

70. To change a line of operation is work for a master mind; to lose it is so disastrous that it makes the general who does so guilty of a crime. Thus, it is necessary to guard it, to be in communication with his depôt, where he can get rid of the prisoners he has made, of his sick and wounded ; find provisions and a rallying point.

71. According to the laws of war, every general who loses his line of communication deserves to be shot. I

understand by a line of communication that in which are the hospitals, succour for the sick, ammunition, provisions, where an army re-organize, recruit, and regain in a few days' rest its moral lost by some unforeseen accident.

72. We do not call it losing one's line of operation, when it is harassed by partisans or insurgent peasants, for these could not face the van or rear.

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PART III

WAR MAXIMS

1. The Frontiers of States are either great rivers or chains of mountains, or a desert. Of all these obstacles opposing the progress of an army, the most difficult to surmount is the desert, next comes the mountains, and third only, the large rivers.

2. A plan of campaign ought to have foreseen what the enemy is able to do, and should contain the means of checkmating him. Such plans are liable to endless modification, according to the circumstances, the genius of the commander, the kind of troops, and the topography of the seat of war, and weather.

3. An army marching to the conquest of a country has its two wings flanked by neutral ground or by great natural obstacles, such as rivers or chains of mountains; it may happen that only one of its wings is so supported, or even that both wings are exposed. In the first case the general in command has only to guard his centre from being forced; in second, he must bear on the supported wing; in third, he must have his troops bearing well on his centre, and they must never separate; for if it is a difficulty to have two flanks in confusion, this is doubled when there are four, and it is tripled when there are six, i.e., when the army is divided into two or three different corps. The line of operation in the first case may bear indifferently on the

left or right; in the second case it must bear on the supported wing; and in the third case it should be perpendicular to the middle of the army's line of march. But in all the cases above-mentioned, after every five or six days of marching, works should be erected, or an entrenchment thrown up along the line of operations, to serve as a depôt for provisions and arms, as an organising station for convoys or columns, and as a centre of movement, and as a guiding mark, to shorten the line of operation of the army.

4. When one marches to the conquest of a Country with two or three armies, each having its line of operation, but all to meet at a fixed point, it is a principle that the junction of these several corps should never be effected in the vicinity of the foe, for not only could the enemy by concentrating, prevent this junction, but may beat them in detail also.

5. All war should be methodical, for every war should have an aim, and be constructed in accordance with the principles and rules of art. It should be carried on with means proportional to the obstacles which can be foreseen.

6. At the commencement of a campaign thought should be expended as to whether an advance should be made or not, but when once the offensive has been assumed it should be maintained to the last extremity. Whatever skill may be shown in manoeuvres in a retreat, it will always weaken the morale of the army, since by giving up the chances of success, they are given over to the foe.

Retreats, besides, cost more in men and war material than the bloodiest fights, since in a battle the enemy loses as well as you do, while in a retreat you lose and he does not.

7. An army should always, night and day, and in any hour, be prepared to offer all the resistance of which it is capable; and this demands that the troops should constantly have with them their arms and ammunition, the infantry with its artillery, cavalry and generals; that the different divisions of the army should be constantly in a position to support, sustain, and protect one another; that whether in camp, on the march, or at the halt, the troops should be always in a position of vantage, which has the qualities necessary for every battle-field, i.e., that the flanks should be well supported, and that all weapons should be placed in the most advantageous position to be brought into immediate play.

When the army is en route there should always be scouts in front and to the right and left, to give information, and placed at such a distance, that the main body of the army may deploy and take up its position unmolested.

8. A general-in-chief should say to himself during the day: "If the enemy's army were to appear on my front, or on my right or on my left, what would I do?" And if he finds the question hard to answer, he is not properly posted, things are not well ordered, and he must put matters right, and at once.

9. The strength of an army, like the quantity of motion in mechanics, is estimated by the mass multiplied by the velocity. A swift march enhances the *morale* of the army and increases its power for victory.

10. With an army inferior in number, cavalry or artillery -- it would be well to avoid a general engagement, to supply the defect in number by rapid marches, the want of artillery by manoeuvres, and the inferiority in cavalry by the choice of a good position. In such a position the moral of a soldier counts for much.

11. To operate in directions far from one another and without communication is a fault which usually leads to the commission of another. The detached column has orders but for the first day ; for the next, its operations depend upon what has happened to the principal column; thus, according to circumstances, this column will lose time in waiting for orders, or more likely it will act at random. It ought to be then a principle that an army should have all its columns together, so that the enemy could find no possible means of getting in between them. When, for any reasons whatever, this maxim is departed from, it is necessary that the detached bodies should be independent in their operations; they should bear on to a fixed point where they are to assemble; they should march without hesitation and without new orders; finally, they should be as little as possible subject to isolated attack.

12. An army ought to have but one line of operation, which should be carefully preserved, and abandoned only as the result of weightier and overbearing considerations.

13. The distance which should intervene between the divisions of an army in the marches depends on the locality, the circumstances, and the aim in view.

14. In mountains, there are everywhere a large number of positions extremely strong in themselves, which one should take care not to attack. The spirit of war lies in placing yourself either on the flanks, or on the rear of the foe, which would leave him no alternatives but to evacuate his position without fighting to take a new one in the rear, or to come on and attack you. In mountain warfare, the attack is under a disadvantage ; even in offensive war, art displays itself in having only defensive fights and in obliging the enemy to attack.

15. Glory and military honour is the first duty a general should consider when he is going to fight; the safety and the preservation of his men is secondary ; but this very boldness and tenacity ensures the safety and economy of life. In retreating, besides the honours of war, more men are often lost than in two battles; therefore, we should never despair, while brave men still remain with the colours, so we obtain -- and deserve to obtain -- victory.

16. A well-tested maxim of war, is not to do what the enemy wishes simply because he does wish it; thus it is good to avoid the battle-field he has reconnoitred and studied, and still more should care be taken to avoid one he has fortified, or where he is entrenched. A consequence of this principle is never to attack a position in front, which may be taken by turning.

17. In a war of marching and manoeuvering, to avoid a battle against superior forces, it is necessary to entrench every night, and to occupy always a good position of defence. The position which nature usually furnishes cannot shelter an army against superior forces without the help of art.

18. Surprised by a superior force, an ordinary general occupying a bad position would seek safety in retreat ; but a good commander will put a bold face on it and march to meet the foe. By such action he disconcerts his opponent, and, if the latter shows any irresolution in his march, a skilful general, profiting by this moment of indecision, may even hope for victory, or at least gain the day by manoeuvering; at night he can entrench himself or fall back on a better position. By such bold action he maintains the honour of war, that important essential in the strength of an army.

19. The passage from defensive to offensive action is one of the most difficult operations in war.

20. We should not abandon our line of operations; but it is one of the most skilful manoeuvres in the art of war to be able to change it when circumstances authorize it. An army which changes skillfully its line of operation deceives the foe, who no longer knows its rear and its weak points.

21. When an army is followed by a siege-train, by wounded or invalids, it should not make its stages too long, in order to reach the depôts as soon as possible.

22. The art of camping on a position is the same as the forming of a line of battle on this position. To do this, all arms should be favourably placed in order to be brought into action; we should choose a position which is not commanded and which cannot be turned; and, if it be possible, it should command and envelop the enemy's position.

23. When in a position where the enemy threatens to hem you in, it is necessary at once to mass one's forces, and threaten the enemy by an offensive move; by this manoeuvre you prevent him from withdrawing troops to disturb your flanks, in case you should judge it imperative to beat a retreat.

24. One maxim of war, that ought never to be forgotten, is to place the cantonments at a point most distant and most sheltered from the enemy, especially when the latter is preparing a surprise. In this manner time will be gained to mass together the whole army before the enemy can attack.

25. When two armies are fighting, and the one must, for retreat, proceed in but one direction, while the other may retire on all points of the compass, all the advantages rest with this latter. That is the time for a general to be bold, to strike hard blows and to manoeuvre with effect on the hostile flanks: victory is in his hands.

26. It is acting against the truest principles to allow separate action to two divisions which have no communication with one another, in face of an army centralized, and with easy internal communication.

27. When one is driven from a first position, it is well to rally one's columns sufficiently to the rear to prevent the enemy interposing, for nothing could be more untoward for columns to be attacked separately before their junction.

28. A detachment must not be made on the eve of battle, for in the night the situation may change -- either by movements of the enemy towards retreat, or by the arrival of large reinforcements which allow it even to take the offensive and render the premature dispositions made, futile.

29. When about to deliver battle, it is the general rule to concentrate all your forces, and to neglect none; one battalion often decides the day.

30. Nothing is more rash and contrary to the principles of war than to make a flank march before an army in position, especially when this army occupies heights, below which it is necessary to defile.

31. Secure yourself all possible chances of success when you decide to deliver an important engagement, especially when you are dealing with a great general, for if you are beaten, and you are in the midst of your magazines, and close to your fortress, woe to the conquered!

32. The duty of a vanguard does not consist merely of advancing and falling back, but in manoeuvering. It should be composed of light cavalry, supported by a reserve of cavalry of the line, and by battalions of infantry, also having batteries as supports. It is requisite that troops of the vanguard should be picked men, and that the generals, officers, and soldiers should be well up in their tactics, each according to the requirements of his grade. Troops not thus instructed would only offer embarrassment to the vanguard.

33. It is contrary to the usages of war to let one's parks and heavier pieces of artillery enter a defile if the other end is not held also ; in case of retreat they will be in the way and be lost. They should be left ready, and under a suitable escort until mastery is obtained of the outlet.

34. It should be held as a maxim to have no intervals between the different bodies forming the line of battle, unless it be done to get the enemy into a trap.

35. The camps of an army should be so pitched as to be a protection to one another.

36. When the hostile army is covered by a river on which there are several têtes-de-pont it is no use approaching in front, this would scatter your army and expose you to be cut off. You must come to the river with your columns echelonned, so that there should be but one column, i.e., the one right in front, which the enemy could attack without risking his own flank. In the meantime the light

troops will reach the banks of the river, and having fixed on the part where they wish to cross it, let them bear down on it rapidly, and throw the bridge ; it should be observed that the place of crossing should be at some distance from the leading echelon, in order to deceive the enemy.

37. As soon as one is master of a position commanding the opposite bank facilities are acquired for effecting the crossing of the stream, especially if this position is of sufficient extent to hold a large number of pieces of artillery. This advantage is less when the stream is more than 600 yards wide, for, the grape shot not reaching the other side, the troops resisting the passage can easily march past and shelter themselves from fire. It would come to this : that the grenadiers who are ordered to cross the river, to protect the construction of the passage, might reach the other bank, but would then be crushed by the enemy's fire, since their batteries, placed at a distance Of 400 yards from the outlet of the bridge, would be able to open a very murderous fire, and yet be more than 1,000 yards distant from the batteries of the army wishing to pass over ; so that the whole advantage in artillery lies on their side. In this case, too, the passage is impossible, unless it be by a successful surprise, or through the protection of an intervening island, or by taking advantage of a very pronounced bend, which would permit the establishment of batteries crossing their fires on the gorge. This isle or bend forms then a natural tête-de-pont, and gives the advantage to the attacking army.

When a river is less than 120 yards broad, and a command is obtained of the opposite bank, the troops who have been landed on the other side, being under the protection of artillery, are so advantageously placed that, unless the river makes a bend, it is impossible for the enemy to prevent the establishment of the bridge. The bridge being a defile, a semi-circle should be formed about its extremity, and the army must march past the fire of the opposite sides at a distance of 600 or 800 yards.

38. It is difficult to prevent an enemy who has crossing apparatus from passing over a river. When the army which opposes the passage has, as its aim, to cover a siege, it should take steps to arrive before the enemy in a position intermediate between the river and the place to be covered as soon as the general commanding feels he cannot prevent the crossing.

39. Turenne, in the campaign of 1645, was driven back with his army on Philipsburg by large forces ; there was no bridge over the Rhine, but he took advantage of the ground between the bank and the Rhine as a suitable spot to be occupied. This should be a lesson to officers of talent, not only as to the construction of strong places, but also for that of têtes-de-pont. A space should be left between the place and the river, such that, without entering the place which would compromise its safety, an army might form and rally between the place and the bridge. An army retiring on Mayence, being pursued, is necessarily compromised, since more than one day is needed to pass over the bridge and the extent of Cassel is too small for an army to stay without encumbrance; there

ought to have been 400 yards between the place and the Rhine. It is essential that the têtes-de-pont before large rivers should be traced after this principle, else they would offer but sorry help to the passage of a retreating army. The têtes-de-pont taught in schools are only good before small streams where the passage is not long.

40. Strong places are useful in offensive as in defensive war. They could not indeed stop the advance of an army, but they offer excellent means of delaying, checking, weakening, and harassing a victorious enemy.

41. There are but two ways of effectually besieging a place, one by first defeating the hostile army entrusted with the duty of covering it and driving the remnants beyond some natural obstacle, e.g., mountains, or a great river ; the covering force being removed, an observing army must be placed behind the natural obstacle, until the siege-works are completed and the place taken. But if it is desired to take the place in face of a reinforcing army without the risk of a battle, one must be provided with a siege-train, with ammunition and provisions, for the expected duration of a siege, and lines of contravallation and circumvallation, taking advantage of localities such as heights, woods, marshes, inundations. There being no need to maintain communication with the depôt posts, there is only need to keep the relieving army in check; in this case an observing army should be formed to keep an eye on the relief force, and bar its way to the place, by means of which it is always possible to attack it in the flank or rear if it attempts to steal a march; by taking advantage of the lines of circumvallation, a part of the

besieging might be employed to deliver battle to the relieving army. Thus, to besiege a place before a hostile army, you must cover the siege by lines of circumvallation. If the army is strong enough, after having left before the place a body four times the garrison, to number yet an equal figure with the army of relief, it may be more than one march distant; if after this detachment it be inferior in number, it should be but a short march from the siege, in order to be able to fall back on its lines, or rather, to receive reinforcements in case of attack. If the two armies engaged in the siege and in observation together are but equal to the relieving force, the whole of the besieging army should remain in or near the lines, and confine itself to pushing forward the siege operations with all the vigour possible.

42. Feuquières has said you are never to wait for the enemy within the lines of circumvallation; but sally out and attack him. Feuquières is wrong ; there is no dogmatic rule in war, nor should there be one against waiting for the foe within the lines.

43. Those who would reject lines of circumvallation and all the assistance the engineers' art can afford, deprive themselves gratuitously of an aid which is never hurtful, almost always useful, and often indispensable. However, the principles of field fortification have made no progress since the time of the ancients ; it is even below what it was 2,000 years ago. Encouragement then should be given to officers of talent to perfect this part of their art, and to bring it to the same level with the others.

44. Circumstances not permitting that a sufficiently large garrison should be left behind to defend a fortress containing hospital and stores, all measures should be taken to secure the citadel from being stormed.

45. A fortified place cannot protect the garrison and keep off the enemy but for a certain time; when this has expired, the garrison must lay down its arms. All civilized people are agreed on this point, and the only controversy has been as to the length of the defence a governor should make before capitulating. However, some generals, among them Villars, think a governor should never surrender ; but when at the last extremity, he is to blow up the fortifications and profit by the confusion to cut his way through the besieging force. When this is not possible, they can always march out with the garrison and save the men.

Commanders who have adopted this plan have rejoined their army with three-fourths of their garrison.

46. The keys of a fortified place are well worth the liberty of its garrison, when the latter is resolved not to leave it except as free men ; thus it is always more advantageous to grant an honourable capitulation to a garrison which has resisted stoutly than to assault.

47. Infantry, cavalry and artillery, can never do without each other; they should, therefore, be so cantoned as always to aid one another in case of surprise.

48. The infantry ought to be formed in two lines only, for the musket cannot be used with effect except under this

disposition, and it is recognised that the fire of the third line is very imperfect and even injurious to that of the two in front. In forming the infantry into two lines you must allow one of serrefiles of a ninth of the whole effective, i.e., one every yard ; a reserve to be placed twelve yards behind the flanks.

49. The method of mixing platoons of infantry with cavalry is wrong altogether ; it will only result in mischief. The cavalry ceases to be mobile; it is trammelled in all its movements, it loses its impulse. The infantry, too, is affected, for at the first movement of the cavalry, it is unsupported. The best method of protecting cavalry is by protecting its flanks.

50. Cavalry charges are equally good at the commencement, the middle, and the end of the battle; they should be made as often as possible on the flanks of the infantry, especially when the latter is engaged in front.

51. It is for the cavalry to follow up the beaten enemy and prevent his rallying.

52. Artillery is more necessary for cavalry than for infantry, since cavalry cannot return fire, nor fight except with sabre. It is to supply this deficiency that horse artillery have been created. Cavalry should always have its batteries with it, whether attacking, remaining in position, or rallying.

53. In march or position the greatest part of the artillery ought to be with the infantry and cavalry divisions; the

remainder should be held in reserve. Each gun should have 300 rounds, not counting the waggon reserve ; this supply will do for two battles.

54. Batteries should be placed in the most advantageous positions, and as far as possible in front of the lines of infantry and cavalry, without these latter being at all endangered. The batteries should command the country from the height of the platform - they should not be shut off (masked) on the right or left -- so that they can open fire in any direction.

55. A general should avoid placing his army in billets when he has the means of getting together magazines of stores and forage, and so satisfying the wants of his soldiers.

56. A good general, with a good staff, organization, instruction, and with severe discipline, can make good troops -- independently of the cause for which they are fighting. Yet enthusiasm, love of the fatherland, national pride, will stir young troops.

57. When a nation has no staff of officers, and no principle of military organization, it will be difficult for it to form an army.

58. The first quality of a soldier is fortitude in enduring fatigue and hardship; bravery -- but the second. Poverty, hardship and misery, are the school of the good soldier.

59. There are five things which the soldier must never let from him: -- his gun, ammunition, knapsack, provisions for at least four days, and pioneering tools. Let him, if he thinks fit, have his knapsack of the least possible size, but have it with him always.

60. Soldiers must be encouraged in all ways to remain with the colours; this you will attain by showing great esteem for soldiers. The pay should also be increased in proportion to the years of service, for it is a great injustice not to pay a veteran more than a recruit.

61. Orations, when at the point of fighting, do not make a soldier brave; old soldiers hardly listen, and recruits forget themselves at the first cannon shot. If addresses and reasoning are of any service, it is during the course of a campaign, in order to prevent rumours and false reports, to maintain a good spirit in the camp, and to furnish materials for conversation at the bivouacs. The printed order of the day should fulfil these different objects.

62. Tents are not healthy. It is better for the soldier to camp out, for he sleeps with feet to the fire, the proximity of which soon dries the ground on which he lies, some planks and a little straw protect him from the wind. However, the tent is necessary for the commanders, who need to write and consult the maps ; they should, therefore, be given to superiors, who should be ordered never to sleep in a house. Tents are objects of observation to the enemy's staff, and they give him information as to your number and position. But an army with two or three lines of bivouacs show nothing at a

distance but smoke, which the enemy would confound with the mists of the atmosphere; it is impossible to count the number of fires.

63. Information obtained from prisoners should be priced at the right value; a soldier sees nothing beyond his company, and the officer at most can give an account of the movements and position of the division to which his regiment belongs. Thus a general in command should not consider confessions torn from prisoners, except when they square with the reports of the outposts, to justify his conjectures as to the position the enemy occupies.

64. Nothing is more important in war than unity in the command; thus when there is war against but one power there should be but one army, acting on one line, and led by one chief.

65. After too much talk, uncertainty, difficulty and consultation, what has happened in all centuries, when pursuing a like line, will again take place; i.e., that one ends in taking the worst course, which almost always in war is the most pusillanimous -- or, if you will, the most prudent. True wisdom for a general lies in energy and resolution.

66. In war, the leader alone understands the importance of certain things, and he may alone, of his own will and superior wisdom, conquer and overcome all difficulties.

67. Allowing generals and officers to lay down arms, as the result of a particular capitulation, except when they

form the garrison of a fortified place, leads the way to undeniable difficulties. It is destructive to the military spirit of a nation thus to open a way to cowardly or timid men, or even to brave men who have strayed. In an extraordinary position, extraordinary resolution is needed; the more important the resistance of any body, the better are its chances of being succoured or of cutting its way through. How many things which appeared impossible, have been done by resolute men, whose only other resource was to die!

68. No Sovereign or people can have security if it permits officers to capitulate on the field, and to lay down their arms on conditions favourable to the concerned, but opposed to the interests of the remainder of the army. To get out of danger oneself, to make that of one's companions more perilous, is clearly cowardice; such action should be proscribed, made infamous, and be visited with the death-penalty. Generals, officers and soldiers, who in battle have saved their lives by capitulation, should be shot down; both he who orders a surrender, and those who obey the order, are traitors alike, and deserve capital punishment.

69. There is but one honourable way of being made a prisoner of war, it is when one is taken by oneself, and when unable any longer to use one's arms. Then there are no conditions, because to make them with honour is impossible, but one is compelled to surrender by absolute necessity.

70. The course of a general in a conquered country is like a ship surrounded by rocks. If he is harsh he irritates and increases the number of his enemies; if he is too mild, he causes the abuses and vexations inevitably attached to the art of war, to show themselves in a more acute form. A conqueror should know how to employ in turn severity, justice and leniency, both to calm and prevent seditions.

71. Nothing can excuse a general taking advantage of knowledge gained in the service of his country, to fight against it, and to deliver its ramparts to foreign nations; this crime is condemned by the principles of religion, morality, and honour.

72. A commander-in-chief is not protected for his faults in war, by the order of his Sovereign or of a Minister, when it is given by one distant from the field of operations, or ill, perhaps not at all, acquainted with the last turn matters have taken. Whence it follows that every such commander who undertakes to carry out a plan he thinks bad, is guilty; he should represent his motives, insist on the plan being changed, in fine, resign rather than be the instrument of the ruin of his army. Every commander-in-chief who, in consequence of orders from above, fights feeling certain that he will lose, is equally guilty. In this last case he should refuse to obey, because an order in war only demands implicit obedience when given by a superior who, the moment he gives it, is present at the seat of war, being then acquainted with the state of things; he may listen to objections and give all necessary explanations to the officer who is to carry the order out. But if a commander receives a distinct order from his Sovereign to

deliver battle, with an injunction to yield the victory to his opponent, ought he to obey? No. If the general understands the reason for this strange order he should execute it, but if not he should refuse to obey.

73. The first quality of a commander is a cool head, which will judge things in a true light; he should not let himself be dazed by good or bad news ; the sensations he receives successively, or once during the course of a day, should be classed in the memory so as to occupy only the place they deserve, for reasoning and judgment are but the result of many sensations equally considered. There are men who from their nature, physical or moral, make of each thing a complete picture, whatever may be their skill or talent or courage; nature has not called them to the command of armies and to the direction of the great operations of war.

74. To know the map perfectly, to understand reconnoitring, to take care that orders are carried out, to present in a simple manner the most complex movements of an armyæthese are the qualities befitting an officer called to serve on the Staff of the General in command.

75. It is the duty of the general of artillery to know of all the operations of the army, since he has to furnish arms and ammunition to the different divisions composing it. His intercourse with the commanders of artillery at the outposts should keep him acquainted with all the movements of the army; and the action of his main artillery park should depend on the information thus gained.

76. To have a quick eye for defiles and fords, to secure good guides, to examine the priest and the postmaster, to have quick communication with the inhabitants, to dispatch scouts, to seize letters, translate and analyze them ; finally, to answer all the great questions of the commander-in-chief; such are the qualities befitting a good general commanding the outposts.

77. Generals-in-chief are guided by their own experience or genius. Tactics, evolutions, the science of an artillery or engineering officer may be picked up from books, but the knowledge of the great operations of war can only be acquired by experience, and by the applied study of the campaigns of all the great captains. Gustavus, Turenne and Frederick, as well as Alexander, Hannibal and Caesar, have all acted on the same principles. To keep one's forces together, to bear speedily on any point, to be nowhere vulnerable, such are the principles that assure victory; to inspire fear by the reputation of one's arms, that is what maintains the fidelity of allies, and the obedience of conquered nations.

78. Read and re-read the Campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Eugène and Frederick; take them for your model, that is the only way of becoming a great captain, to obtain the secrets of the art of war.

BOOK II.

79. The first principle of a commander-in-chief is to observe clearly what he does, to see if he has all the

means of surmounting any obstacle the enemy may place in his way, and if he has made up his mind to do all to overcome those obstacles.

80. The art of a general, commanding in the van or in the rear, is, without imperilling himself, to keep the enemy back, to delay him, to make him employ three or four hours in marching a league. Tactics alone can give the means of attaining these ends; it is more necessary to cavalry than to infantry, in the van or rear, than in any other position.

81. It is rare, and difficult, to possess at one time all the qualities of a great general. What is most desirable (because that draws a man out at once of the common line) is to maintain an equilibrium between his mind and abilities, and his will and courage. If courage prevails more in his composition, the general will undertake designs, the whole possibility of the attainment of which he has not thought out; on the other hand he will not dare to carry his ideas into execution, if his will or courage is inferior to his abilities.

82. With a great general, no great action is executed, which is the fruit of chance, or fortune ; they are all the result of combination and talent.

83. A commander-in-chief never gives rest either to the victor or to the conquered.

84. An irresolute general who acts without principles or plan, although at the head of an army superior in number

to that of the foe, often proves inferior in the battle field. Shuffling, half-measures, lose everything in war.

85. To a talented general who has to think out, propose, and execute everything by himself, good judgment and a solid mind are necessary.

86. A cavalry general should possess practical knowledge, know the preciousness of a second even of time, despise life and not trust to chance.

87. A general in the hands of the foe has no power to give orders; to obey them is criminal.

88. Cavalry of the line should be posted in van, rear, wings, and reserve to support the light cavalry.

89. To wish to keep cavalry for the end of the fight, betrays no idea of the effective power of the charges combined of cavalry and infantry either for attack or defence.

90. The strength of cavalry lies in its impetus; but speed alone does not insure victory: what does, is order, harmony, and the proper employment of the reserves.

91. The cavalry should bear a proportion to the infantry of one-fourth in Flanders or Germany; one-twentieth on the Pyrenees or Alps; one-sixth in Italy or Spain.

92. In battle, as in a siege, art is shown in directing fire from many quarters on one point; when the fight is once

begun, a leader skilful enough to bring to bear on one such point, unknown to the foe, an unexpected mass of artillery, is sure to carry the day.

93. The better the infantry, the greater the need to husband it, and support it by good batteries. Good infantry is without doubt the backbone of an army, but if it has had to fight for some length of time against very superior artillery, it will be demoralized and destroyed. It may be that a general, a more skilful manoeuvrer than his opponent, may, with his superior infantry, be successful in a part of the campaign, although his artillery is much inferior ; but, at the crisis of a general engagement he will bitterly feel his weakness in artillery.

94. A good army of 35,000 to 40,000 men, should in a few days, especially when flanked by a great town or river, render its position unattackable by an army twice its number.

95. War is made up of accidents, and although bound to follow general principles, a general ought not to lose from sight anything which may enable him to profit from these accidents; it is a characteristic of talent. In war there is but one favourable moment: the great thing is to seize it.

96. A general who keeps fresh troops for the day after the battle almost always is beaten; one must employ, if useful, one's very last man, because, on the day after a complete success, there is no obstacle left; public opinion alone is enough indeed to secure fresh triumphs to the victor.

97. The rules of war demand that a division of an army should avoid fighting alone a whole army which has already scored success.

98. When a general has forestalled the investment of a place, has gained a few days on his opponent, he should profit thereby to surround himself by lines of circumvallation; from that moment he has bettered his position, and has acquired, in the general condition of affairs, a new degree of strength, a new element of force.

99. In war a commandant of a place is not a judge of events; he should hold till the last moment; he deserves death when he surrenders an instant sooner than he is obliged.

100. Capitulations of bodies, who are cut off during a battle, or on active campaign, are contracts, of which the advantage comes to the contracting parties, but the onerous conditions fall on the prince and the other soldiers. To get out of danger oneself, to make the general's position more dangerous, is clear cowardice.

101. Defensive war does not exclude attack, just as offensive war does not exclude defence, although its aim is to force the frontier and invade the enemy's country.

102. The art of war points out that it is necessary to turn and outflank a wing without separating the army.

103. Field fortifications are always of use, never hurtful, when they are well understood.

104. An army can pass always and in every season wherever there is room for two men's feet.

105. The conditions of the position occupied should not alone decide the order of battle, which should be determined by the whole circumstances.

106. Flank marches are to be avoided, and when made should be as short and in as brief a time as possible.

107. Nothing is more calculated to disorganise and ruin an army altogether than plundering.

108. An enemy's praise is suspicious; it is only flattery to a man of honour when given after the cessation of war.

109. Prisoners of war belong no more to the power for which they have fought ; they are all under the safeguard and protection of the honour and generosity of the nation which has disarmed them.

110. Conquered provinces should be kept in obedience to their conquerors by moral means, such as making the parishes responsible and establishing a sound administration. Hostages are one of the most powerful of these means, but then they should be numerous and chosen from the chief men ; and inhabitants should understand that the death of the hostages would be the immediate consequence of the violation of faith.

111. The physical configuration of the country; whether living on the mountains or in the plains; the education or discipline of the inhabitants, have more effect than climate on the character of the troops.

112. All the great captains have done their great deeds by conforming to the rules and natural principles of their art, and by the soundness of their plans, and the proportioned connection maintained between their means and the results they expect, between their efforts and the obstacle to be overcome. They have only succeeded by conforming to rules, whatever might have been the boldness of their designs and the extent of their success. It is on this ground alone that they are our models, and it is only by imitating them that we can hope to rival them.

113. The first law of maritime tactics should be that, as soon as the admiral has given the signal, each captain should be prepared to make the necessary evolutions for attack of an enemy's ship, to take part in the fight, and support his neighbours.

114. War on land destroys, in general, more men than war at sea; it is more perilous. The sailor in a squadron fights but once in a campaign; the soldier fights always. The sailor, whatever maybe the dangers and hardships of his element, has less to endure than the soldier. He has with him always his abode, kitchen, hospital, dispensary. The naval armies in the services of France and England, where discipline maintains cleanliness, and to whom experience has taught all the necessary measures for the preservation

of health, have fewer men on the sick list than land armies. Independently of danger of fighting, the sailor has that of the sea; but art has so much diminished this latter that it cannot be compared to the perils of the land, popular risings, individual murder, being cut off, surprises by the enemy's light troops, &c.

115. A general, commanding-in-chief a naval army, and a chief of a land army are men who need different qualities. The qualities for the latter are inborn, but those for the former are acquired by experience alone. The art of land warfare is an art of genius, and inspirations. In maritime war nothing depends on genius and inspiration, all is positive, a matter of experience. The sea-general has but need of one science -- navigation. The land-commander has need of all, or of equivalent to all, e.g., that of profiting by universal experience and knowledge. The one has nothing to guess, he knows the position and strength of his antagonists. The other knows nothing for certain, never sees his foe, does not know exactly where he is. When the armies are face to face, the least accident of the ground, the smallest wood, will hide a part of the army. The most practised eye cannot tell if he sees the whole of the hostile army, or but three-quarters. It is by the eyes of the mind, the conjoint use of his reasoning powers, that he sees, knows, and judges. The naval commander has no need of a practised eye, none of the enemy's forces are hidden from him. That which makes the work of the land-commander so difficult is the necessity of feeding so many men and animals; if he will not submit to being guided by the commissaries, he will not be able to stir an inch, and his designs will fail. He of the sea is never so

embarrassed; he carries everything with him. He has not to reconnoitre, no ground to examine, no battlefield to study. The Indian Ocean, and the American Ocean, the Channel, all are but same liquid. The most skilled have no advantage over the least, except by the knowledge of the winds prevailing in such and such a quarter, by foreseeing those which ought to prevail, or by atmospheric signs; qualifications acquired by experience, and by experience alone. The land commandant never knows the battle field where he is to operate. His glance is an experienced one, he has no positive information, the data given to him to arrive at a knowledge of localities are so casual that almost nothing is taught by experience. It is the faculty of seizing at once the connection which the ground bears to the nature of countries, it is a gift termed "the soldier's eye," which great generals have received from Nature ; yet the observations made on topographical charts, the ease given by education and habit of reading from them, may be of some assistance.

A naval commander depends more on his captains than a land commander on his generals. This latter is in a position to take on himself the direct command of the troops to bear on all points, and of remedying false moves. A naval general, personally, has influence but over the men of his own ship. The smoke prevents the signals from being seen, the winds change or are not the same overall space covered by his line. It is then, of all professions, the one in which subalterns may take the most on themselves.

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